DECLASSIFIED

R

MONDAY
JULY 19, 1954

I decided, instead of sending a telegram, to write to Livie, which I did in the following terms:

Dear Livie:

I should like to call to your attention three points which the Department has probably already considered. The suggested action in relation to the first two points would be pertinent only if Mendès-France continues as Prime Minister after July 20.

A. In Le Monde July 17 (reported in EMBTEL 223 of July 17) it was stated that the Secretary, in the course of frank discussion at Paris with Mendès-France on the EDC, had, although at first incredulous, finally recognized he had been ill informed on the prospects of ratification of the treaty by the French parliament, that he had appeared grateful to the Prime Minister for his explanations, and had manifested irritation in regard to his own sources of information.

Ordinarily, the partisan bias of Le Monde on this subject would render unnecessary a denial by the Secretary, but this particular despatch from Geneva is so generally regarded in France as having been inspired by members of the Prime Minister's private cabinet that it has been given wide currency and credence. The essence of the resultant argumentation is:

(1) No majority for EDC presently exists in the National Assembly.

Comment. No majority would probably exist if the Government submitted the treaty on a take it or leave it basis, but a majority, in the opinion of objective observers, would be obtained if the Government gave the treaty vigorous backing and demanded a vote of confidence on it.

(2) Even if the National Assembly passed the treaty on the first reading it would be rejected by the Council of the Republic, and the Assembly would not be able to muster the necessary absolute majority of 314 votes to pass it on a second reading over the objections of the Council. (EMBTEL 68, July 6, and General Gruenther's telegram to Admiral Radford on his conversation with Mendès-France, ALO 589, July 10.)

Comment. Without questioning Mendès' sincerity (and I do not do so since I consider him a courageous and honorable man but too pre-occupied with other political matters to have familiarized himself with

The Honorable
Livingston T. Merchant,
Assistant Secretary of State for
European Affairs,
Room 6161 New State Department Building,
Washington 25, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY CEC 7-1-81 DATE
RDS☐or XDS☐EXT. DATE
TS AUTH. REASON(S)
ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS ☐
DECLASSIFIED☑ RELEASABLE☑
RELEASE DENIED☐
PA or FOI EXEMPTIONS

DECLASSIFIED

the complexities of EDC, I would remark that the threat of the [illegible]sity for 314 votes may never become real; it assumes an [illegible]e majority against the treaty in the Council of the Republic, [illegible] questionable if the Government really supports the treaty an[illegible] Assembly has approved it. Even if this threat arises, the Government could use a strong counter-weapon, for the question of confidence poses the threat of dissolution. To the ex-Gaullists, this means the danger of the disappearance of most of them from the political scene.

It must be remembered that Mendès reputedly receives his principal tips on prospective voting strength in the parliament from such opponents of EDC as Boris and his associates. The only way to prove or disprove the verity of such prognostications is to bring the affair to a vote. (For example, the figures given by Mendès on probable Socialist defections are stoutly challenged by that astute Socialist politician Guy Mollet.)

In view of the above, I suggest that the Secretary consider sending, through Ambassador Dillon to Mendès, an entirely private communication setting the record straight. I feel this advisable if the Secretary has any suspicion that Mendès may have been persuaded by his own eloquence that the Secretary was indeed impressed by his explanations and forecasts.

In connection with this topic, I trust the Secretary had an opportunity to tell Mendès he did not share the latter's apprehensions (EMBTEL 4946, June 21) over the unsatisfactory and even dangerous prospects that might be presented by an EDC ratification by a narrow majority. As the Secretary himself recalled in Paris, historical precedents in democracies in this regard are quite overwhelming in disproof of such a contention.

Some cynical Frenchmen, in speaking of this argument, have observed that a bare majority for EDC is unlikely to cause blood to run in the streets of Paris or to induce conscripts in large numbers to disobey a call to the colors, if the opposition leaders are of the same kidney as the great majority in the French parliament who stood in the Palais Bourbon to honor the soldiers lost at Dien Bien Phu but did not throw a single inkpot at the seated and solid bloc of communists who so insolently and evidently acknowledged their partiality for a foreign aggressor. In any case, the recent by-elections seem to have brought conclusive proof that the electorate is on the whole favorable or indifferent to EDC, and that the "bitter divisions" are strongest in the hothouse atmosphere of the National Assembly.

B. There is no question that the Secretary's letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, insofar as it might seem to

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

postpone (in the event of non-ratification of EDC before the summer recess) consideration of a German military contribution to NATO, has been seized upon by EDC opponents as equivalent to a proposal for renegotiation of the question (see AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS telegram 41 to the Department, July 15. This point was made in Gaullist Gaston Palewski's article in Le Monde July 17 and other press comments reported EMBTEL 220 of June 17.)

At the very least, this portion of the letter is being (not perhaps legitimately) construed as equivocal. I am aware of the reasons, including those dictated by the British attitude, why the letter was couched in such terms. Nevertheless, here again, I believe private and confidential representations from the Secretary through Ambassador Dillon to Mendès would be useful and salutary, so he will be fully aware of our intention to plan for speedy German rearmament after the recess of the French Parliament if it does recess without having acted favorably on EDC.

Perhaps the Secretary covered this fully during his recent conversations with Mendès; otherwise, I think the U. S. position should be clarified (but only through diplomatic channels) for our enemies are exploiting their own self-serving interpretation of it.

C. In the event the Soviet Government should shortly propose another four power meeting on the German problem, I hope we will resolutely refuse it. Palewski and others are already preparing the ground for such a conference as a "logical next step" if Geneva succeeds, and Mendès will be under strong internal pressure to accept such an offer. But acceptance would be a serious -- and perhaps a fatal -- blow to our European policy at this juncture.

I apologize, in my anxiety over the fate of EDC, for engaging in reflections that are probably superfluous, and certainly would temporarily become so if Mendès loses office. The combination of Candide and Cassandra is almost inevitable in dealing with this problem.

With kindest regards,

Ever yours,

David Bruce

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

I took E. and Marie Louise Bousquet to lunch at Marius. Marie Louise had received a cable last week from Neimann-Marcus, in Dallas, advising her she had been given the greatest honor in the fashion world -- a cup awarded annually -- but she must come to Dallas to receive it and attend various manifestations in her favor on September 5. This is a tremendous thing for anybody connected with feminine fashions, it having been given to Christian Dior a couple of years ago. However, Carmel Snow, who is Marie Louise's boss in Harper's Bazaar, seems to have intervened and, since she expects to be in Paris at that time, preferred that Marie Louise not go to Texas, and therefore she loses the award, which is [redacted] sad.

Max Isenbergh, a friend of Phil Graham, called on me this afternoon. He has received one of the Rockefeller brothers' grants accorded to civil servants. Such a grant amounts, as I recall it, to about $15,000 a year and is without any restrictions as to how the recipient spends the money, nor is he or she under any obligation to write a thesis, or evidence in some other manner how they have disposed of their twelve months' period. Isenbergh, who is Deputy Counsel to the Atomic Energy Commission, intends to work on the subject of the use of atomic energy in non-military fields, with particular attention to its organizational aspects. For this purpose, he will [redacted] study the operations and institutions of the Coal and Steel Community. He struck me as unusually intelligent.

Mademoiselle Geneviève de Galard, popularly known as the angel of Dien Bien Phu, came to see me as a consequence of Henri de Boisgelin having asked me to give her [redacted] advice on her forthcoming trip ~~to America. She has been invited to~~ go there by both Houses of Congress.

Ever since her liberation from Dien Bien Phu, she has ~~been trailed~~ by journalists, publishers, and the moving picture fraternity, and has received dozens

DECLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY CFC DATE 7-1-81
☐or XDS☐EXT. DATE
AUTH: REASON(S)
ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS ☐
DECLASSIFIED☑ RELEASABLE☑
RELEASE DENIED☐
PA or FOI EXEMPTIONS

DECLASSIFIED

of offers, some of extremely large amounts of money, to write, talk, play, or otherwise commercialize her experiences and fame. Although she is not pretty, I thought she had great charm and was extremely sensible. She is still an Army nurse and, as such, subject to the usual regulations of the French Department of Defense. I advised her to have all her contacts handled by the Consul General in New York and the French Ambassador in Washington. Hellé Bonnet had originally told me this was what the Ambassador proposed to do, and I feel sure it is the best solution. Mademoiselle de Galard expects to say, upon her arrival in New York, that she considers her visit a sign of the friendship and admiration of the American people for her comrades who fought so gallantly in Indo-China, and not a tribute to herself.

Ben Moore arrived today from London and we had a long talk this afternoon. He, too, had been given a Rockefeller award but [redacted] decided not to take it and to go into private business at home.

We had dinner tonight with Pascal and André Dewavrin. After a drink at their attractive penthouse apartment in Neuilly, we went to a bistro, Chez Joséphine, in Rue du Cherche Midi. We had a fine dinner and sat late. André and I had a long discussion about the EDC, of which he is an opponent but not a last ditch one.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY CKC DATE 7-1-81
☐or XDS☐EXT. DATE
TS AUTH. REASON(S)
ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS ☐
DECLASSIFIED☐ RELEASABLE☑
RELEASE DENIED☐
PA or FOI EXEMPTIONS

CONFIDENTIAL